THE

Free-born Subject:

OR, THE

Englishmans Birthright:

Asserted against all

TYRANNICAL USURPATIONS

EITHER IN

CHURCH

OR

STATE.

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THE FREE-BORN SUBJECT;

OR,

The Englishmans Birthright:

Asserted against all *Tyrannical Usurpations*, either in *RELIGION* or *STATE*.

NOw to take my Text to pieces; By a **Free-born Subject**, is meant a person that is born under the Protection of the *Law*; and thereby entitled to certain known *Immunities* and *Privileges*, as his *Birthright*. But then he is likewise tied up, by the same Law, to certain *Rules* and *Measures* of *Obedience* to *Government*. So that he seems to be *Free* in one respect; and *Subject* in another. Now how far he is *Enfranchised* by this *Liberty*, and how far *Limited* by that *Subjection*, will be the Question.

You shall seldom or never find this expression used, but as a kind of *Popular Challenge*; and still in favour of the **Free-born**, without any regard at all to the **Subject**. Whereas we should as well consider the *Authority* of an *Imperial Prince* on the one hand; as the *Privileges* of a *Free-born People* on the other. And not so far mistake, ei-

ther the *Force* or the *Intent* of *Magna Charta*, and *the Petition of Right*; (by which we claim to these Liberties) as if by being discharged of our *Vassalage*, we were also discharged of our *Allegiance*.

The **Englishmans Birthright** sounds much to the same purpose too, with the **Free-born Subject**: Only there lies a stronger *Emphasis* (in Common Speech) upon the word *Englishman*. As when we speak of a Brave Man, that stands up for the Honour and Defence of his Country; such a one, we cry is a *Right Englishman*, a *True Englishman*.

Now to the end that we may not be misled by the Sound and Jingle of Words; into a false, and dangerous Notion of Things; let us repair to the *Law*, which is the *Known*, and *Common Standard* of our *Civil Actions*: that we may not either give up our Own just Rights on the One hand, or Encroach upon his Majesties, on the Other. For it is the Law that marques out the *Metes* and *Bounds* both of *King* and *People*: that shews how far we are to *Go*, and where to *Stop*; and teaches us to distinguish betwixt *Liberty* and *Sedition*; betwixt a *True*, *Right Old Englishman*, and a *shuffling*, *double-hearted Modern Impostor*.

As we have our *Legal Rights*, so we lie under *Legal Restrictions* too: And the King likewise hath his *Legal Prerogatives*, which are also accompanied with certain *Legal Limitations*. From whence it appears, that the Law serves as a *Common Rule* and lies as a *Common Obligation* both upon *Prince* and *Subject*.

And yet though there be a *Duty* Incumbent on *both sides*, there is a great difference even in point of *Law it self*, betwixt the *Kings Violation* of the *Law*, and the *Peoples*. The *King* breaks his *Word*, the *People* forfeit their *Bond*. They are *Both* of them *Bound* alike in *Conscience*; but the *People* are over and above engaged upon a *Penalty*. It makes a huge noise in the World, that *Kings are bound by the Laws*

as

as well as the People. And ſo they are, in *Honour* and *Conſcience*, but no further: And this ariſes from the very Nature of Government it ſelf: For whereſoever the *Laſt Appeal* lies, there reſts the *Government.* And there can be *no Government at all*, without the Eſtabliſhment of a *Final Reſult*, for otherwiſe the *King* ſhall *Judge* the *People* and the *People Rejudge* the *King*; and ſo the Controverſie ſhall run round Worldwithout end. Take notice now that *all Appeals* move from a *Lower Court*, or *Sentence*, to a *Superiour*; and conſider then, how ridiculous it were to *Appeal Downward*; or from *Sovereign Princes*, to any other Power, than to the *King of Kings*, who alone is above them.

But let us put the Caſe now, that a Prince miſ-governs: *How ſhall he be tried?* It muſt be either *By* the *Law* or *Without* it. If the *Former*, where is the *Law* that ſays, *The* People *may call their* Soveraign *to accompt, in caſe he does not Govern according to* Law? Or if they cannot produce ſuch a Law, the *Aſſertion* is *Treaſonous.* If the *Latter*, we are at our Old *Salus Populi* again: Which, in one word, is no other then a direct Diſſolution of the Law, and a Proſtitution of Authority to the Will of the Multitude.

Having already ſtated the Conditions, and Advantages of a *Free-born Subject*, and of our *Engliſh Birthrights*: we ſhall now proceed to the aſſerting of theſe our Privileges, againſt all **Tyrannical Uſurpations**, either in matter of *Religion* or *State.* And firſt a word of **Tyrannical Uſurpations.**

Under this Head may be compriſed all ſorts of *Violence* and *Oppreſſion*; (by what *means*, or *Inſtruments* ſoever exerciſed) contrary to *Law* and *Juſtice.* By *Tyranny*, we do underſtand *An Unjuſt Domination*; or *an Abuſe of a Lawful Power, to the injury of the People*: as if a Prince ſhould turn a *Legal Government* into an *Arbitrary.* Now we commonly reckon *That* for an *Uſurpation*, when *One man takes*

upon

upon him the Right of another, without any Title to it at all: As our late *Oliver* was called *Uſurper*. And there are alſo *Mixt Caſes*; (as was That before mentioned) where *Tyranny* and *Uſurpation* meet *Both* in *One*.

According to This Diviſion we may be *oppreſſed three ſeveral ways*; either *Immediately* by the *Prince* himſelf; or *Mediately* by his Miniſters, as by ſpecial Direction and Command; Or otherwiſe we may be ſimply *oppreſſed, one Subject* by *another*. But ſtill theſe *Oppreſſions* are *Illegal* every way; and the Queſtion is Now, what *Legal Relief* in the Caſe? For as the *Law* entitles us to the *Privileges* we claim, and to the enjoyment of them: ſo does the *Law* likewiſe appoint, and chalk us out the *Methods* of *Aſſerting* and *Maintaining* our *Rights*, in caſe they be invaded. So that we muſt onely Oppoſe *Legal Remedies* to *Illegal Wrongs*; and not think to deliver our ſelves from one Violence by another. For *Popular Commotions* are the moſt Criminal and *Dangerous* of all ſorts of *Oppreſſions*. *Other Oppreſſions* may lie Heavy upon *particular Perſons*; but *This* is an *Oppreſſion* of *Law* and *Government* it ſelf. And it is as *Fooliſh* as it is *Impious*; For while we Phanſie all things to be *Lawful* for us, becauſe we ſuffer many things *againſt Law*, we incur a *Legal Forfeiture* of all our *Privileges*, by the *unlawful manner* of endeavouring to preſerve them.

It is a *Maxim* in *Law*, but not in *Morals*, that *the King can do no wrong*; for he may ſhed Innocent Bloud with his own hand, which is the *Greateſt* of *Wrongs*; but it is not looked upon however as a *Wrong* in *Law*, becauſe there is no *Law* to queſtion him for it. The Ordinary ſhift upon this Point is, *That the King may be ſued, and that conſequently he ſtands anſwerable to the Law.* To which I ſay, with a Diſtinction, that the *King* hath a *Twofold Right*, a *Right* of *Dominion*, and a *Right* of *Propriety*. In the *Former* (which is the point in Queſtion) there lies *no Action* of *Law:* In the other there may, for otherwiſe he might take away

away any mans *Free-hold* at pleaſure. And were it not a wild thing to imagine otherwiſe, when according to the very *Stile* of the *Law*, all *Writs*, *Trials*, and *Forms of Juſtice* run in the *Kings name?* So that admitting their Suppoſition, *the King ſits Judge upon himſelf.*

When the late Underminers of the Government found that they could not ſhake the Royal Authority *This way*, (for it was attempted) they had recourſe afterward to the Phanſie of a *Coordinate Government*; making the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, to be *the Three Eſtates*; in ſtead of the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*; and the *Commons* repreſented in Parliament. Which miſtake being ſwallowed by the Undiſcerning Multitude, proved the Foundation of our Common Ruine. This Whimſie being now ſet on foot again, I ſhall beſtow a Word or two upon the Unmasking of that pernicious and ſenſleſs Pretence, and make it appear, that the Poſition is Deſtructive, not onely of the *Three Eſtates*, (as ſome account them) but of the very *Being* of *Parliaments.*

Suppoſing the Government to be *Coordinate*, (as theſe People will have it) any *Two Parts* of the *Three* may *Out* the *Third.* The *King* lies at the Mercy of the *Lords* and *Commons*; the *Commons* at the Mercy of the *King* and the *Lords*; and the *Lords* as much at the Mercy of the *King* and *Commons.* So that at this rate no body knows to day, what Government we ſhall have to morrow. This is the Juſt *Ratio* of a *Coordinate State*; and then to colour the Invention, they tell us that the King is *Singulis Major*, *Univerſis Minor*; *Greater* then the *Diffuſive Body of the People*, but *Inferiour* to the *Collective.* Which ſtrikes at the very Root of *Parliaments*; for if it be True, that a *Prince* by calling of a *Parliament dethrones himſelf*; what Prince would ever call a *Parliament?*

As it is clear that *Sovereign Power* is *Sacred*, and not to be Touched; it is no leſs Clear on the other ſide, that all the

the *Executors* of *Illegal Powers* and *Violences* may be queſtioned; for that the *Law* puts no difference betwixt *one Subject* and *another*, but provides for *Common Juſtice* betwixt man and man, without any difference of regard to *Dignities* or *Perſons*. And as it appoints us ſuch a *Relief* in ſuch and ſuch Caſes; ſo does it likewiſe ordain and direct ſuch and ſuch *Puniſhments* in other Caſes, according as the wiſdom of the Law-makers hath found convenient. So that he is upon his *Good behaviour*, either for *Redreſs*, or *Puniſhment*.

But I hear many people ſay, that 'tis True, *the Law provides well enough for us; but what if Juſtice be overaw'd and obſtructed?* My anſwer is, that we are to help our ſelves by *Law*, if we can; but if the *Law* will *not* relieve us, we muſt be *Patient*; eſpecially in a Caſe, where 'tis impoſſible to find a *Remedy* that is not worſe then the *Diſeaſe*. Let us but look a little into the Conſequences of paſſing That Line, and taking upon us to be our Own Carvers. *Firſt*, by Tranſgreſſing the *Bounds* of the Law, we caſt our ſelves out of the *Protection* of it. *Secondly*, by declining the *Common Equity* of it, we run into *Partialities* and *Factions*, and every man makes himſelf both *Judge* and *Party*. *Thirdly*, from a *Certain* and *Infallible* Proviſion for the *Stating* and *Determining* of all *Controverſies*; we tranſport our ſelves into an Abſolute *Impoſſibility* of ever *Reconciling* them, I might have ſaid, of *Underſtanding* them: For *Fourthly*; from matter of *Fact*, we betake our ſelves to Queſtions and *Propoſitions* of *Notion*; as *the Law of Nature*, *Self-preſervation*, &c. which ſignifie nothing more, then to *puzzle* the *Multitude*, and *confound* the Order of *Civil Adminiſtration*. For there can be no *Proof* made of a *Thought*; but under Countenance of Theſe *Blinds*, the *Ambitious*, the *Revengeful*, the *Neceſſitous*, the *Factious*, the *Covetous*, the *Malicious*, and the like, *Stalk* to their *Unrighteous* and *Self-Ends*. And what's the Iſſue of all This, but

but that, when by *Coveting more* then did belong to us, we have *loſt* what we *had:* when by forſaking the *Known*, and the *Safe* ways of *Peace* and *Juſtice*, we have *wandered* out our Lives in *Pathleſs*, *Dangerous*, and *Uncomfortable Errors*; without either *Light* or *Guide* to ſet us right again: When we have been led by a *Falſe Shew of Liberty*, as by an *Ignis Fatuus*, through *Boggs* and *Ditches*, and all in purſuit of a *Sluttiſh Vapour*: When by breaking the *Bond* of *Humane Society*, we have turned a *Community* into a *Deſert*; and like *Wild Beaſts*, torn one another to pieces. What is the *fruit* at laſt of all our *Wild Adventures?* but *Bondage*, *Beggery*, *Shame*, and *Late Repentance?* So that our *Beſt* and *Sureſt Way* will be, for every man to look to his *Own Province*, without intermeddling in the Juriſdiction of *Another*.

Having ſufficiently diſcourſed upon the *Quality* of **Tyrannical Uſurpations**, we come now to **Religion** and **State**, as the *Subject Matter* they are to *work* upon: Wherein we ſhall Diſtinguiſh betwixt **Tyranny**, as an Act of the **Government**; and **Uſurpation**, as a Claim of the **People**.

Touching the *Power* of *Kings*, and the *Poſſibility* of *Tyranny*, in the matter of *Religion*; the Queſtion falls into a very narrow Compaſs: for *Conſcience* lies out of the Reach of *Law*; And the *Powers* of *Government* are onely exerciſed upon *Owert*, and *Senſible Acts*. But the point in hand however is This: Firſt, *What is intended by the* **Tyranny** *here ſpoken of?* Secondly, *How are we to behave our ſelves, in Caſe of ſuch* **Tyranny**?

There may be *Tyranny*, either in *forcing* a man, (upon a *Penalty*) to *Renounce* the *Right Religion*, or to *Embrace a Falſe One:* Or in *Prohibiting* to any man, the *Freedom* of *Worſhip after his Own way*. And all theſe Caſes vary according to the *Conſtitution* of the *Government*, and the *Conſcience*

of the *Governour*. For *the ſame thing* may be *Lawful* in *One place*, and *not* in *Another*; and to *One Perſon* too, and not to *Another*: And it may be *more* or *leſs Excuſable* alſo, according to *Theſe Circumſtances*. In ſhort; It is a **Tyranny**, to preſs a man to a *Falſe Worſhip*; A **Tyranny** to *puniſh* him for *adhering* to a *True one*; A **Tyranny** to *hinder* any man from *Worſhipping* God as he *Ought*: And the *Tyranny it ſelf*, is yet farther *aggravated*, if it be done in *Oppoſition* to the *Law* of the *Land*; And to the *Conſcience* of the *Ruler*, as well as to *Common Equity*. But ſtill when I have loſt *Liberty*, *Eſtate*, nay and *Life it ſelf*, by *reaſon* of *Religion*; my *Religion it ſelf* is preſerved *Inviolate*, even when my *Body* lies in *Aſhes*. The Prince that *Acts* all theſe *Tyrannies*, hath undoubtedly a great deal to anſwer for to *Almighty God*: But what *Remedy* is there for the *Subject* that *Suffers* them? And let *That* be the *next Point*.

In Caſe of ſuch *Perſecutions* as aforeſaid, I know no more then Theſe *Four ways* of Application, for *Relief*; Either by *Prayer* to *Almighty God*; By Recourſe to the *Law*, for *Protection*; By *Petition* to the *Government*, for *Indulgence*, and *Compaſſion*; Or elſe, to trie if we can deliver our ſelves by *Direct Force*.

The *Firſt*, is a ſure *Expedient* in all Caſes: for where we are not *Delivered* from our *Afflictions*, Our *Afflictions* are yet, by Gods Providence, turned into *Comforts*. In the *Second* place, we may make the beſt of the *Law*, provided that we do not make the *Law Felo de ſe*, and raiſe *Inferences* of *Equitable Suppoſition*, in *Contradiction* to the *Naked* and *Expreſs Letter* of it. As for Example; By the *Law*, we have a *Lawful Right* to ſuch and ſuch *Liberties*; and herein we have the *Law* to *Friend*. But if we make any attempt to compaſs theſe *Lawful Ends* by *Unlawful Means*, the *Law* is point blank *againſt* us.

Our *Next* Reſort is, by *Petition* to the *Government*; which is a Courſe, *Laudable* and *Fair*; provided we keep

clear

clear of *Rancour* and *Clamour*; and addreſs to the *Magiſtrate* not to the *Multitude*: For it is not the *End* of thoſe *Popular Papers* to *Sollicite Relief*, but to *Provoke Tumults*; and under the Countenance of begging *Compaſſion* toward the *People*, to ſtir up *Sedition* againſt the *Government*. For *Lewd* Characters of Men breed *Ill Thoughts* of them; and *Evil Thoughts* break out into *Wicked Actions*; and the readieſt way in the World to a *Rebellion* is, to ſtartle the *Vulgar* with an Apprehenſion of *Tyranny*. If all this will not do, there remains nothing more, but either *Patience* or *Force*. The *Former* was of the *Primitive*, and the *Later* hath been the practice of our *Modern Chriſtians*; but whether they do *Well* or *Ill* in it, ſhall be now examined.

It hath done a great deal of Miſchief in the World, the Miſconſtruction of That *Text* that bids us *Obey* God *rather then* Man. For the People are not well aware, that, *Firſt*, in Obeying of *Magiſtrates* in all *Warrantable Caſes*, they Obey *God* alſo, in *That Civil Obedience*. *Secondly*, Suppoſing the *Command* of the *Supreme Magiſtrate* to be directly *Oppoſite* to the *Expreſs Will* of *God*: I will not *Obey* him in *That Caſe*, but I am not yet diſcharged of my *Duty* to him in *Other Caſes*: for he is never the leſs a *Lawful Magiſtrate*; (even for not being a *Chriſtian*) and I will not *Reſiſt* him in *Any*: *Thirdly*, the *Law* of *This Nation* makes all *Motions* and *Inſurrections* whatſoever, without *Legal Authority*, to be *Riotous*, *Seditious*, or *Treaſonous Aſſemblies*. *Fourthly*, Allowing this *Latitude* to the *People*, that they may *Confederate*, and *Riſe*, for the *Defence* of *Religion*; they may as well riſe for the *Subverſion* of it: for we have but their *bare Words*, either for the *One*, or for the *Other*. *Fifthly*, It Authorizes every man to ſet up a *Church* by himſelf, in his Own *Phanſie*; and in ſtead of carrying his *Body* to the *Doctor* for a Fit of the *Spleen*, he brings his *Conſcience*, forſooth, to the *Government*, to be cured of a *Revelation*. And this Licenſe, in one word, ſets up the Crotchet

of every *Sickly Brain*, in Competition with *Chriſtianity* it ſelf, and the *Politique Peace*.

What if I ſhould ſay now, that there was never any War in the World undertaken purely upon the Accompt of *Religion*, that was not utterly *Unlawful*; unleſs in Caſes of *Gods Extraordinary* and *Peculiar Diſpenſations*. For, *Firſt*, What are the *Certain* and *Neceſſary Effects* of *War*, but *Blood*, *Rapine*, *Oppreſſion*; the Multiplying of ſo many *Widows* and *Orphans*; *Depopulating* of *Countries*, and *Kingdoms*; and the *Violation* of all *Rights*, *Sacred* and *Profane*? Are Theſe now the Works of the *Goſpel*? And what is *Religion* the better for all this? *Theſe* are *Sacrifices* for *Moloch*; and *This* is a *Religion*, and an *Oblation*, fitter for an *Inſenſible* and *Implacable Idol*, then for the God of *Love* and *Peace*.

Let us but conſider now, what a Deluge of **Impiety** flows in upon *Humane Nature* with *This Opinion*. The *Papiſt* falls foul upon the *Proteſtant*; the *Proteſtant* upon the *Papiſt*; the *Chriſtian* upon the *Mahumetan*, the *Mahumetan* upon the *Chriſtian*: It ſets *all People*, and *all Parties* together by the Ears, onely for *Diverſity* of Thoughts. It makes *Authority Ridiculous*, it fruſtrates the very *Laws* of *Nations*, and lays the World again in *Common*. Now if This be ſo Peſtilent a Doctrine, taken onely at *Large*; How much more Diabolical is it, for *Subjects*, upon This *Ungodly Pretext*, to go about to *Embroyl* a *Well Regulated State*; and to charge their Souls with *Perjury*, *Schiſm*, and *Rebellion*, over and above the *Common Crimes* that accompany *Hoſtile Invaſions*.

As the *Law* hath been *hitherto*, ſo it muſt be *henceforward* the *Rule* and *Meaſure* of all our Proceedings. In the Section of *Tyranny*, the Queſtion was, *How the* Subject *ſhould demean himſelf toward the Prince, in the Caſe of ſuch and ſuch* Oppreſſions *in matter of Religion*. But now, in Caſe of an *Uſurpation*, the Queſtion is, *How far the* Government *ſhould comply with a* Popular Importunity; *or*

how

how far the People *ſhould gratifie* one another. Of which we have ſpoken ſo much at large elſewhere, that the leſs will ſerve in this place.

The Word *Uſurpation*, implies the *Affecting* or *Invading* of *Anothers Right*; which, in the point of *Religion*, muſt needs be very *Dangerous*; becauſe the People are ſo eaſily diſpoſed to ſwallow *That Deadly Pill*. I do not reckon a *bare* and *ſimple Diſſent* from the *Eſtabliſhed Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the Church, to be an *Uſurpation*: For poſſibly there may be a *Real Scruple*, or want of *due Information* in the Caſe. But when That *Diſſent* comes to be *Practical*; when it comes to make *Parties*, to Divide into *Sects*, to *Plead* and to *Challenge* the *Law*; it is no longer a *Plea* of *Conſcience*, but a direct *Conſpiracy* againſt the *Government*. It is a *Nurſery* of *Hereſies*, over and above; And a *Liberty*, utterly Inconſiſtent with the Meaſures of *Political Juſtice* and *Prudence*. For *Firſt*, They Agree among themſelves in the ſingle point onely of *Departing* from *Us*; And they are not, in *Conjunction*, more diſſatisfied with our *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* and *Decrees*, then they are *ſeverally*, among themſelves, *one Sect* with *another*: So that it is, in this reſpect, impoſſible to pleaſe them. And *Secondly*, It is no leſs *dangerous* to offer at it, in *other Conſiderations*. For *Firſt*, upon the Current of *Long* and *Conſtant Experience*, they have been always found *Inſatiable*: Never eſteeming what they *had*, to be *Enough*, till they had gotten *All*. The late King gave them ſtill more and more; and the more he *Gave*, the more they *Craved*; and turned his *Bounty*, at laſt, to his *Deſtruction*. He did effectually, in favour of their Importunities, Strip himſelf, to his *Revenue*, his *Crown*, and his *Life*; and all *That*, They *took*. Another danger is, that *the very men that ask a Toleration, are Principled againſt it. And I ſee not the leaſt ſhadow of a Reaſon, why they that will not Tolerate Others, ſhould be Tolerated Themſelves*. And truly as little Ground

ſo

for the *Asking* of it, as for the *Granting* of it. For *First*, Why ſhould the *Unity* of the *Church* be *broken*, and the *Peace* of it *diſturbed*, in favour of the *Enemies* of it; and to the *Diſcouragement* of the *Churches Friends*? *Secondly*, As the Act of *Uniformity* hath the Full and Solemn Complement of a *Binding Law*; why may they not as well demand a *Diſpenſation* for *Rebellion*, as for *Schiſm*? And quarrel *any other Law*, nay, one after another, the *whole Body of the Law*, as well as *That*? The *Law* is the *Eſtabliſhed Rule* of our *Actions*; and they will have every *wandering Phanſie* to be a *Rule* to the *Law*. They themſelves *fly* from the *Law*, and their Complaint is, that the *Law* doth not *follow* them. This Method fruſtrates the very *Order of Providence*, and makes all Proviſions of *Government* to be *Vain* and *Uſeleſs*. They cannot pretend to Charge this *Law* with any *Defect*, in regard either of the *Civil*, or the *Eccleſiaſtical Authority* of it. Here is, *First*, *The Judgment of the Church duly Conven'd, touching the Meetneſs and Convenience of the Rites and Forms therein Contained.* Secondly, *There is the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorizing thoſe Rites and Forms; and requiring our Exact Obedience to them.* Thirdly, *The Matter of the Law here in queſtion, is our Own Act*; for that we *our ſelves* are Concluded in the Vote of our *Repreſentatives*. Againſt Theſe *Uſurpations* we have *Law* enough: And ſo we have likewiſe againſt thoſe that follow in Matter of *State*: which may be reduced to *Uſurpations* upon us, in Matter of *Life*, *Liberty*, or *Eſtate*.

There is an *Uſurpation* upon the *Magiſtrate*; and there is an *Uſurpation* upon the *Subject*: Upon the *Former* in reſpect either of *Title*, or of *Power*; both which Caſes are *Determinable*, and *Relievable* by the *Law*: And ſo alſo is any Oppreſſion upon the *Subject*: That is to ſay, where One Subject oppreſſes Another. When I ſay *Determinable* and *Relievable* by *Law*, my meaning is, that the *Law* hath

hath competently provided for the *Freedom* and *Security* both of *King* and *People:* And the *Remedy* ſeldom fails, where it is *Seaſonably applied*, and *Vigorouſly purſued.*

But when the Dignity of Government may be vilified *Gratis*, the *Kings Miniſters* and *Friends* beſpattered with *Billingſgate Libels*, and his *profeſſed Enemies ſupported* and *encouraged:* when his Majeſties *Title* as well as his *Prerogative* and *Reputation*, ſhall come to be the ſubject of every *Bawling Pamphlet*; and the *Bounds of Sovereign Power to be debated by Porters and Carmen, over Pots of Ale:* when not onely the *Reverend* and *Lawful Miniſters*, and the *Apoſtolical Order* of the *Church*, ſhall be *Derided* and *Deſpiſed*; but *Religion it ſelf* paſs onely for a *Sham*, a piece of *Prieſt-Craft*, and be publiſhed in Print, for no more in effect then a *Political Art of getting a Hank upon the People:* when ſuch Outrages, I ſay, as Theſe come to be daily committed over and over, in the very face of the Sun, and the *Laws* ſuffered to *Sleep*, that ſhould *repreſs*, and *puniſh* them: what can be the Event of This *Inhumane Licenſe*, but *Confuſion*, and *Ruine?* And if it comes to That once, it was our Own fault, for not putting a *Timely* and a *Legal Stop* to Theſe *Audacious Uſurpations.*

The *Poſitions* and the *Methods* that brought on our late Troubles, are now Revived and Practiſed every day afreſh: We have our *Quæries*, our *Remonſtrances*, and all things, to the Old Tune of *Curſe ye Meroz*, and *To your Tents, O Iſrael:* moſt manifeſtly tending to the Unhinging of the *Government*; and as certainly deſigning the *Subverſion* of the *Church* and of the *State.* The *Boldneſs* and the *Impunity* of theſe Libels, would be an Equal Wonder to me, if I were not ſatisfied, that the *One* is clearly the *Effect* of the *Other:* For their eſcaping puniſhment, looks as if the *Government* were *afraid* of the *Rabble*; and then their paſſing without *Anſwer*, gives a kind of Credit to their Doctrine.

It

It is not a Work for a *Gentleman* to Rake a *Dunghil*, and to gather up the *Peoples Vomit:* But yet out of a Fooliſh *Zeal* and *Tenderneſs* for a *Duty* that hath onely given me *Miſery* in *This World*, and the *hope of Comfort* in a *Better*; I cannot but endeavour to poſſeſs others with the ſame ſenſe of theſe Indignities which I have my ſelf; and to lay open this Spirit of *Calumny* and *Slander*: *Theſe Uncoverers of their Fathers Nakedneſs, and Defilers of the Honour of our Common Mother.*

My Onely Encouragement to This Undertaking, is the Title I have to be believed in it. For I am ſo far from being *Bribed* into this Office, either by the *Tie of Paſt Obligations*, or by the *Proſpect of Beneſits to come*, That (with Infinite Acknowledgments of his Majeſties Grace and Goodneſs to me) I defie any man to produce another Gentleman in the Kings Dominions, under my Circumſtances, that hath ſuffered ſo many *Illegal*, *Arbitrary*, and *Mean Injuſtices*, from any of *the Abuſers of the Kings Bounty*, as I have done. Inſomuch that after a Sentence of *Death*, for his Majeſty; betwixt *Three* and *Four Years* in *Newgate*; and a matter of *Seven and Thirty Years faithful Service to the Crown*; the Bread hath been taken out of my Mouth, and in a large proportion, ſhared amongſt ſome of thoſe very People that purſued the late King to the Block: Nor do I look for any more Advantage for the Future. This *Reflection* (by the way) *doth not concern any man that is now in Office at Court*; and I hope there is enough ſaid already, to acquit me of any likelihood to be Partial in This matter. I muſt not ſlip This Occaſion of bringing in a Caſe of late date; a Caſe wherein all men of *Letters* are concerned, and not impertinent in This place, and That being done, I will proceed.

Being deſirous to Inform my ſelf very particularly concerning this laſt Deviliſh Plot, *I got the beſt Intelligence I could, as well by* Short Notes

upon

upon the Trials in Court, *as by* word of Mouth *from Credible perſons that were there preſent. After this, upon peruſal of the* Printed Trials, *I found ſeveral* Groſs Incoherences; (*eſpecially in the Later of them*) *and very* Material Miſtakes. *As in that of Mr.* Langhorn, Fol. 39, *and* 40. *Mr.* Lydcats name *is uſed no leſs then* Nine times, *as one of the* St. Omers Witneſſes, *inſtead of Mr.* Hall, *to his very great prejudice.*

Reflecting upon Theſe Errors, *together with the almoſt* Inextricable Difficulty *of Retriving the* Truth, *out of ſuch a* Confuſion *of* Tautologies, *and* Forms; *the* Collection *being ſo* Bulky *too, and the* Particulars *lying ſo* ſcattered, *that it was next to the Work of a Reſurrection to ſet every part in its right place. I betook my ſelf to my Friends, my Thoughts, and my Papers, and digeſted the whole Tranſaction into an* Hiſtorical Narrative. *And not in* Dialogue *neither; nor in the words, either of the* Bench, *the* Witneſſes, *or the* Priſoners; *but in* my Own ſtile *and* Way, *and juſt in the ſame Faſhion as I would tell the Story. This Book I entitled*, The Hiſtory of the Plot, &c. *made a* Legal Aſſignment *of my* Right *to a* Bookſeller. *I* Authoriſed *him to* Print *it, and he* Imprinted *it by the* Authority *of the* Author: *Some of the* Pretenders *to the Formal* Trials, Arreſt *my* Bookſeller, *as an* Invader of their Propriety, *and Threaten him moſt wonderfully into the Bargain. He puts in* Bail *to the* Action, *and there the Squabble reſts. They do not complain of any* Imitation *of* their Copy, *but take upon them, as if no man elſe were to write upon* That Subject. *At this rate, we ſhall have all* Sermons *forfeited to the* Kings Printers, *for Deſcanting upon* Their Bibles; *and* all Books whatſoever, *to the* Company of Stationers, *becauſe they are made out of the* Four and Twenty Letters; *and the* A B C *is* Their Copy. *What a* Scandal *is this to the* Commonwealth of Letters? *What a* Cramp *to* Learning, *and Induſtry? That if I have a mind to Compile a* Hiſtory, I muſt go to Forty little Fellows for leave, forſooth, to Write the Narrative of the Proceedings upon our Bleſſed King and Martyr, the Brave Earl of *Strafford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; with a hundred more Inſtances of the like nature, becauſe ſome or other *of them has lurched, perhaps, a* Copy *of* Their Trials.

What if a man ſhould write the Battle of *Worceſter*, and the Kings miraculous Eſcape, after the Defeat; muſt he not mention the *Thouſand Pound* that was ſet upon his Majeſties Head, without leave of the **Printer** that had the **Propriety** of the **Proclamation** that offered it? Or if a Body would draw up a *Syſteme* of *Treaſon* and *Sedition*; muſt he go to the **Publiſher** of **Bacons Government**, for a *Licenſe?*

I am the larger, *becauſe it is a* Publick Caſe. *And take notice*, Firſt, *that the* whole Story *is drawn into leſs than a* Sixth *part of* Their Volume. Secondly, *That there is not ſo much as* One Material Clauſe omitted *in it.*

Thirdly, *That it is incomparably* Plainer, *and more* Intelligible *then the other*; *beſide the many* Corrections *in it.* Fourthly, *That it is* Eleven Shillings ſaved; *Theirs being rated at* Thirteen and Six pence, *at the Loweſt Penny, and This onely at* Half a Crown. *And ſo much for this.*

I come now to an Examination of *Two Libels*; the moſt *Audacious* and *Virulent* that have yet paſſed the Preſs. The *One* of them Entitled *Omnia Comeſta à Bello*; Or, *Bel hath devoured all.* The *Other* is called, *My Lord Lucas's Speech.* But take notice that my Exception lies to the *Supplement* or *Appendix*; not concerning my ſelf at all with the *Speech.*

The *Former* of theſe Papers is an Alluſion to the Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*: where the *Prieſts* and their *Wives* came in at a *Back-dore*, and conſume what was offered to the *Idol.* It is Printed *BELLO* in ſtead of *BELO*; and the *Miſtake* is a great deal Righter then the *Meaning*: For it was, in Truth, the *WAR* that *Devoured all*; and the *Good Old Cauſe* (which was the Foundation of *That War*) was, in effect, no better than a *CHRISTIAN IDOL.* It comes forth, as an *Anſwer* to the *Firſt* of *Five Pretended Queſtions*; which he ſets down at Length: and we will ſpeak of them in Order, as far as ſhall be needful.

Quæry 1. *Whether the Great Cauſe of Impoveriſhing the* Nation, *Ruine of Trade, and General Conſumption of Comfort, Settlement, and Content, which hath brought the Land to a meer* Anatomy, *be not the Pomp, Pride, Luxury, Exaction, and Oppreſſion of the Prelates?* *Pag.* 3. He *Concludes* in the *Affirmative.* And *Pag.* 4. *The Trading Stock of the Nation* (he ſays) *is devoured in this Prelatical Gulph.*

But are we ſo *Miſerable* then? And is the *Hierarchy* the Cauſe of all our *Miſeries?* Let us compare the *Times* a little, when we *had Biſhops*, and when we *had None*: For there is no Trial of the *Truth* and *Reaſon* of Things, like

like *Experience*. From 1558. (when *Q. Elizabeth* came to the *Crown*) to 1641. we had a *Continued Succeſſion* of a *Proteſtant* (or rather, a *Reformed*) *Prelacy*. And ſo from 1660. to this preſent 1679. which is upward of *a hundred Years*. And all this while the *Government* ſtood *firm* upon its *Ancient Baſis*. The *Goſpel flouriſhed*, and the *Subject* enjoyed their *Legal Liberties*, under a *Legal Adminiſtration*, both in *Church* and *State*. From 1641, to 1660. *Epiſcopacy* was *Out of Dores*. Do but obſerve, now, what Havock was made in the *State*, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*; in matter of our *Religion*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, in That *Interval*, of onely *Nineteen Years*: when *an Ordinance* was of more force then *an Act of Parliament*: And our *Lives*, *Freedoms*, and *Eſtates*, lay at the Mercy of the *Tyrants of Athens*, in a *Derby-houſe Committee*. But let us yet come cloſer to the Buſineſs.

I would fain know what theſe men would be *at*, that are ſo deſperately unſatisfied with the Condition they are in. Would they be in the days of *Queen Elizabeth* again; or of *King James*; or of the *Late King*? If nothing of This will content them; there is no other Choice left, but That of *Rebellion*. For whoſoever Traces the *Hiſtory* of theſe *Male-contents*, will find *Deadneſs of Trade* and *Perſecution* to have been their *Conſtant Complaint*, from the *Reformation it ſelf*, to *this day*.

After the Paſſing of a *General Sentence* upon the *Biſhops*, as the *Authors* of all our *Calamities*, he takes the *whole* to *pieces*. Treating *Firſt*, of the *Revenues*, *Pomp*, and *State*, of *Prelates*. And there he tells us of *Two Provincial Archbiſhops*, with their *Princely Retinue*, *Domeſtique Chaplains*, *Officers of Temporal Tithes*, *Spiritual Officers*, *Vicar General*, *Guardian of the Spiritualities*, *Dean of the Arches*, *with all their Under-Officers and Attendants*.

To be as brief as poſſible: *Firſt*, Where is the *Crime*, or the *Iniquity* of all This *Pomp* and *State*? Or why ſhould

not an *Eccleſiaſtical Body* have its *Dignities* and *Dependences*, as well as a *Civil Community*? There is no body envies my *Lord Maior* his *Sword-bearer*, his *Mace-bearer*, or any other *Servant*, or *Enſign* of his *Preeminence* and *Office*. For beſide that the very *Splendor* and *Magnificence*, *creates* and *preſerves* a *Reverence* for *Authority*. This *Multiplicity* and *Subordination of Officers*, is of *abſolute Neceſſity* alſo; as *ſubſervient* to *Order*, and to the very *Diſcharge* of his *Function*. The *Second Queſtion* is, *Are theſe Officers eſtabliſhed by* Law, *or not*? If by *Law*; *This clamour is an Arraignment of King, Lords, and Commons*. *Thirdly*, It is not onely a *Legal Eſtabliſhment*, but an *Eſtabliſhment* of *many Ages*, and *continued* without *Interruption*, till both *Church* and *Kingdom* fell together. And then, in Lieu of *Biſhops* we had a *Motly Synod* of *State-Penſioners*; *Hirelings*, to poiſon the *Pulpits* and the *People*; and to *decoy* the ſilly *Multitude* out of their *Lives*, *Fortunes*, *Liberties*, *Duties*, and *Religions*: Men kept in *Pay*, to preach *Thanksgiving Sermons*, and to help out at a Dead Lift, towards the bringing of their *Soveraign* to the *Scaffold*. When they had *preached* and *prayed* the Kingdom into *Blood* and *Diſobedience*; and held the Rabble ſeveral Years *agog*, and gaping after the Bleſſed *Reformation* ſo graciouſly promiſed them: Out comes at laſt the *Falſe Conception* of their *Directory*. (A kind of *Spiritual Moon-Calf*.) But by this time, the King was as good as Loſt; and ſo they fell preſently to ſharing of the *Publique Revenues* of *Church* and *State*. They *Diſpatch* their *Prince*, *Enſlave* the *People*, and there is an end of *That Reformation*: And it is the very Fellow of it, that they would have again. Was it not a *Bleſſed Exchange* now, to be freed from the *Prelatical Tyranny*, and *their Retinue*, and to have ſuch *Goſpel-Miniſters*? *Generals*, *Majors*, *and Lieutenant Generals*, *Plunderers*, *Sequeſtrators*, *Decimators*, *Regicides*, and *Sacrilegious Uſurpers* ſet up in their ſtead? This *Cuckoo-Song* of *Forty One*, *Forty One*, *Forty One*, over and over,

over; were *Ill-natured* and *Ridiculous*, if the other *Cuckoo-Song of Popery and Tyranny*, *Popery and Tyranny*, and accompanied with the *Former Principles*, over and over, had not made it *abſolutely Neceſſary*.

His next Grievance is, *The Eccleſiaſtical Courts: Court of Faculties, Court of Audience, Prerogative Court, Delegates, 24 Biſhops Dioceſan, with their Trains, Domeſtick Servants, Chaplains, Officers, and Courts; Chancellors, Regiſters, Apparators, Proctors, Archdeacons, Commiſſaries, Officials, Surrogates*; Their Lordly *Palaces, Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, Baronies, &c.* viis & modis *amounting to at leaſt Four Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds a Year: Enriching themſelves* (alſo) *by Ordinations, Inſtitution, and Induction; by making Rural Deans, Licenſes to Curates, School-maſters, Pariſh-Clerks, Phyſicians, Midwives, Marriages, by Abſolutions, by Commutation of Penance, Probates of Wills, Letters of Adminiſtration, Preſentments, &c. Pag.* 4, 5.

There is enough ſaid already to their *Dignities* and *Officers*; and ſo for their *Courts*, *Fees*, and *Privileges*: They are all of them of *Ancient Right and Cuſtom*. If they envy the *Biſhops* their *Revenue*, the Common People may as well ſet up a *Levelling Trade* again; and fall upon *All Eſtates* and *Conditions of men* that are better to live then themſelves. *Why ſhould ſuch a Lord, Gentleman, Merchant, &c. have ſo many Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year amongſt them*; and the *Poor* ready to *ſterve?* Is not *Money* drawn into a *few hands here*, as well as *there*; and *Their abundance*, conſequently, the Cauſe of Our *Want?* Nay, the ſame Reaſon reaches the *King*, as well as the *Church*. So that *Gods Providence* to *Some*, muſt be rendred an *Injuſtice* to *Others*. One would think by the *Out-Cry* that all This went immediately out of the *Peoples Pockets*: whereas the *Patrimony* of the *Church* is *Setled* and *Confirmed* by the *Great Charter*, of the *Engliſh Liberties*; as *firmly* as any *Freehold* we have. There hath been always This *Clamour* againſt their

their *Courts:* But how was it with us, when they were put down? We had our *Triers* (in good time) Our *Committees* for *Sequestration*, *Decimation*; *Money* upon the *Propositions*, the *Sale* of *Irish Lands*; Our *Loans* for our *Brethren* the *Scots*; Our *Committees* for *Crown* and *Church Lands:* and a hundred other Inventions for the *Beggering* and *Enslaving* of us, *contrary to Law*; by way of *Commuting* for the *Jurisdiction of These Courts, according to Law.* In stead of *Licenses* to *Preach*, or *Teach School*, we had *Sequestrations* and *Imprisonments* for *Preaching* or *Teaching*; unless upon the Conditions of *Renouncing* both the *King*, and the *Church.* In stead of *Demanding Lawful Oaths*, we were upon pain of *Plunder*, *Confiscation*, and *Imprisonment*, *pressed* to *Unlawful Ones*; as *Covenants*, *Negative Oaths*, *Oaths of Abjuration*; and not onely so, but in direct *Contradiction* to the *Oaths of Allegiance* and *Canonical Obedience*; to Double-hatch the *Perjury*, in Defiance of both our *Implicit* and *Explicit Obligations.* Here is the short of that Exchange.

Upon his Computation of the *Value* and *Dependences* of the *Ecclesiastical State*, he reckons some *Ten Thousand Persons*, one way or other, belonging to the *Church:* And at least 450000 *l. per ann.* *First*, In place of the *Ten Thousand Persons* he speaks of, (who in another place (he sayes) bring nothing to the Stock) what do ye think of an *Army* of 40000 *men*, wholly *exempt* from the *Civil Jurisdiction*; and onely Triable by *Martial Law? Hist. Indepency*, *Pag.* 68. *Part.* 1. Or in stead of the *Churches spending four or five hundred Thousand Pound a Year*, of their *Own*; what do ye think of the *Usurpers spending above Forty Millions, in less then seven Years*, of the *Kingdoms money. Hist. Indep. Pag.* 8. But of this hereafter. We had Then no longer the *Eyesore* before us, of the *Prelats Lordly Palaces*; The *Kings Palaces* were likewise *seized* by the *same hands:* Our *Churches* turned into *Stables*; Our very *Alters Robbed* and *Profaned.*

faned. And, to go *thorough ſtitch*, He whips up the *Clergy* for their *Viſitations*, their *Paſchal Rents* and *Procurations*; Nay, their *Canons*, *Vicars*, *Petty-Canons*, *Singing-men* and *Boys*, *Choriſters*, *Organiſts*, *Goſpellers*, *Epiſtlers*, and *Virgers* too: And all this, as idly, as if he talked in his ſleep.

Here he takes Breath, and at the Bottom of the 5. *Page*, promiſes a *Catalogue of more Families Ruined*, *more Perſons Impriſoned*, and an accompt of *more Money ſpent*, by the *Cruelty* of the *Prelats*, then by *all the Law-ſuits of England*, all *Payments* and *Taxes* beſide: *Except upon the late* **Extraordinary Occaſion.** This Libel was Printed, as I remember, before the *Great Plague*. and now of *late Reprinted* over and over, and dated 1679. So that *His late* **Extraordinary Occaſion,** is onely a Civiller way of Expreſſing *Our late* **Extraordinary Rebellion.** Something ſhall be ſaid to This By and By.

His 6. *Page*, and a good part of the 7. are a *Rhapſody of Grievances*. Upon the *Kings Reſtauration*, the *Purchaſers of Church Lands* were forced to *Reſtore* them, without any *Compenſation*. He makes it to be a *hard Caſe*, the *Reſtoring* of them to the *Right Owner*, but ſays nothing of the *Tyranny of Taking them from him*. He tells us that *the Ruſty Eccleſiaſtiques*, *that neither ſerve our* Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *nor their* Country, *but their* Own Bellies, (this is the Complement he beſtows upon them) *hord up the Mony that they have extorted from the Subject by* Fines, *and have brought the Nation to a Conſumption*. I wonder how *Church-Leaſes*, that are commonly the *beſt Penniworths* ſhould be a *Greater Grievance* to the Nation, then *Others* that are ſet at *higher Rates*, which we hear no Complaint of at all. And I do not ſee how it conſiſts with his charge of *Luxury* upon the *Prelats*, that upon ſo great Expence, there ſhould be no *Circulation* of the *Treaſure*. I could tell him of the *Turkiſh Slaves Redeemed*; Their Bounties to *Miniſters Widows*; Their *Publique Works*, as The *Oxford Theatre*, the Reparation of *Litchfield*

Litchfield Cathedral, and the Re-edifying of ſuch of their Palaces, as the Iniquity of the late Times had demoliſhed, &c. To ſay nothing of the *Common Right* they have to diſpoſe of their *Own*: or to the *Secret Charities* of many of our *Eminent Churchmen*, who have too much *Honour* and *Piety*, to make Proclamation of it in the *Market Place*. But now comes a Lamentable Story.

We have all our Able, Godly, Orthodox Miniſters turned out, Ruined, and Beggered, and no manner of Supply provided for the Maintainance of them and their Families: And in Their Rooms (in many Places) a Company of Debauched, Illiterate, Superſtitious, Profane Prieſts; which Blind Guides muſt needs lead them that follow them to Hell. Pag. 6.

Let the Reader obſerve the *Phariſaical* and *Unmannerly Oppoſition* betwixt *his Ejected Miniſters*, and thoſe that were *Introduced*; and then let him conſider the *Right*, and the *Condition*, both of the *One* and of the *Other*. *This* was the very *Character* the *Schiſmatiques* gave our *Learned*, *Pious*, and *Canonical Divines*, when they turned them out of their Livings by *Hundreds*, contrary to *Law*, *Honeſty*, and *Humanity it ſelf*; and the ſame *Character* with the *Other*, did *They* take upon *Themſelves*, that *turned them out:* The *Incumbent Legally Inveſted* in the *Benefice*; and the *Other*, an *Oppreſſing* and *Injurious Uſurper*. And what came of it? The *Shepherds* were *deſtroyed*, and *Wolves* ſet to look to the *Flock:* The *Unity* and *Simplicity* of *Evangelical Truth* was *loſt* and *confounded*, in a *Compound of Carnal Policy* and *Schiſm*. We had as many *Religions* as *Pulpits*; and the *Doctrine of Rebellion* Delivered in them, in ſtead of the *Doctrine* of *Salvation*.

He goes on, *Damning all the Churchwardens for Perſecutors of the Goſpel, if they Preſent according to their* Oaths; *and for* Perjury, *if they do not. If a Miniſter Preach without his* Canonical Garment: *If any man goes from his Own Pariſh Church to hear a Sermon*, &c. *or work upon a* Romiſh Holy-

Holyday; *If he does not* ſtand up *at the* Creed; *nor* Bow *at the Name of* Jeſus; *Or does not keep off his* Hat *all the while, he is* Preſentable.

Well, and what of all this? There is neither *Life* nor *Limb*, in the Caſe, if a man be *Preſented*. Here is for *Decency* ſake, an *Order*; and *That Order* is ſupported by *Authority*; and *Obedience* in *Lawful Matters*, deriving from a *Lawful Authority*, is an *Eſſential Duty* both of a *Subject*, and a *Chriſtian*. He ſeems onely to have Talked Idle all this while; but now he grows directly Outragious.

We have gotten (ſaith he) *moſt of the ſober Trading part of the Nation diſcouraged by Citations, Excommunications, Writs to take them Excommunicated; Impriſonments upon Eccleſiaſtical Accompts; By this means Thouſands of Families are already ruined, and many Hundreds are ready to leave the Land, and remove into ſome other Country, where they may have Liberty of Conſcience, and Freedom from theſe devouring Harpies.* And then he tell us *of our Surplices, Copes, Tippets, Cringings, out of the* Romiſh Rituals, *and a* Service *collected out of the* Romiſh Books, *the Maſs Breviary, &c.*

Was not This the very Stile of the *Petitions* and *Admonitions* to *Q. Elizabeth?* and ſo down to this Inſtant. *Pray what did we get by it; when to be eaſed of This inſupportable Tyranny*, the Nation was at the charge of 114000 *l. a Moneth to an Army? Hiſt. Indep. 66. Above One half of the Revenue of the Kingdom under Sequeſtration:* 300000 *l. a Year openly divided by the Faction among Themſelves*; beſide *Private Jobs*, and *above* 20 *Millions* that they never *accompted* for. 110000 *l. a Year* in *Wages* to *Themſelves*; 100000 *l. a Year* more in *Gratuities*. Beſide *Free Quarter* at pleaſure: *Taxes Innumerable*; and all *Under-hand Corruptions*. Above *a Million and a half* levied by *Compoſitions*; and then ſo *cheap* and *deſpicable Slaves*, in our *Perſons*, that *Welſh Priſoners* were ſold into *Plantations* at 2 *pence a head*. For the Truth of all This, I refer my ſelf to Mr. *Walker* in his *Hiſtory*

ſtory of Independency; a *Knowing* and a *Well-read Perſon* in the whole *Tranſaction*, and a man of *Credit*.

As to the Pamphletters *Liberty of Conſcience*: He would have the World believe this *Uniformity* and *Rule of Diſcipline* to be *New*, and *Singular*, and the Work onely of the *preſent Age*, and *Biſhops*. Whereas, whoſoever will conſult the Hiſtory of our Government, will find *This Law* to be a *Moderation*, which they call a *Perſecution*: Eſpecially at a time when the *ſtrictneſs* is not *executed*. Under *Edward* the VI. the very *Depraving* of the *Common Prayer*, or *Procuring the Uſe of any other* in *Open Prayer*, was 10 *l.* to *his Majeſty* for the *Firſt Offence*; 20 *l.* for the *Second*: And a *Forfeiture* of all *Goods* and *Chattels*, with *Impriſonment during Life* for the *Third*. And in the *Fifth* of the *ſame King*, there was Authorized an *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* in theſe Caſes. *Q. Mary repealed this Act*: and in the *Firſt* of *Q. Elizabeth*, *Q. Maries Act* was *Repealed*, and the *Former Act Confirmed*; which was afterwards in the *Five and Thirtieth of That Queens Reign*, *Enforced with more Rigour*; to which She was neceſſitated, by the Turbulence of that Spirit of **Schiſm** which ſtill to This day is a working. *King James* handed it down to the *late King*, and he continued it, till by a Torrent of *Popular Violence*, the *King* himſelf, and the *Government* were Both *over-born*.

We have gotten (ſaith he) *a Swarm of Eccleſiaſtical Officers, which the Scriptures never knew, nor Reformed Churches ever owned: A ſort of Proud Prelats —— And all manner of Miſery to Soul and Body. Plague, Fire, Sword, Univerſal Beggery; and, without Seaſonable Mercy, the Total Ruine of the whole Kingdom.*

I am ſorry to hear that we have any *Officers* which the *Reformed Churches* never *owned*: For theſe which we have in This Government at *preſent*, we have had for *ſeveral Ages*: and when we had theſe Officers no longer, we had no longer any Government: And *Then* it was that all his Plagues befel

befel us. We have made but *One Trial of another way of Government*, and it coſt us *Dear*.

Upon a ſuppoſed Queſtion over again, concerning the *Riſe* of our *Miſeries*; the *Libellers Anſwer* is, that *the manifold Provoking Sins of the Land; as Adultery, Blaſphemy Swearing, Idolatry, Perjury, and contempt of God and Godlineſs do pull hard with Heaven to bring down deſolating Judgments: But the neareſt Cauſe of our Impoveriſhments, ariſeth from the Particulars afore mentioned.*] He ſhould have done well to have put in *Rebellion* too; which hath all other Sins in the Belly of it. But That is a Thing theſe people do not love to touch upon. To the reſt I have ſpoken more then enough already: and that which follows, is onely an Impertinent Citation of Reflections upon *Ill Biſhops*, whence he would draw an *Inference* that we are to have *None at all*.

The *Second* of the *Five Quæries* before mentioned is This, [*Whether ſince all other Reformed Churches in* Europe *did upon the Firſt Reformation and Departure from Popery caſt out all Dioceſan Biſhops, Name and Thing, Root and Branch, as an Office altogether Popiſh; together with all their Hierarchical Appurtenances; and do this day eſteem them no otherwiſe; why did not, or doth not* England *alſo do the like.*] So that by Hook or by Crook, it ſeems, the *Biſhops* muſt *down*, either for *Oppreſſion*, or for *Popery*; *after the Example of all other Reformed Churches*. We may ſee by This, what kind of Reformation we are to expect from Thoſe People that account the Church of *England* to be *Popiſh*. We ſhould be preſently a tearing down *Altars* again, demoliſhing of *Churches*, Rifling of *Colleges*, and Murthering of *Jeſus Chriſt* over again in *Effigie*; which is no way to be effected but by *another Rebellion*. *The Model of the beſt Reformed Churches*, was the Juggle of the *Covenant*; and the very *Condition* of the *Scots coming in the ſecond time*, was our *Owning of their Kirk* for the *beſt Reformed*; and declaring

ring for a *Reformation* of the *Engliſh Church*, according to the *Scottiſh Model*. The *Reformation* doubtleſs was a *Glorious Work*; but there have been very *Ill Things* done under that *Pretext*, and in the *way* to it: And it is no New Thing for *God* to be in the *End*, and the *Devil* in the *Means*. Beſide that, the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the Church of *England* is ſo *pure*, and *Apoſtolical* already, that there is no need of *Double Refining* it.

His *Third Quary* is a Frank Propoſal, without any more ado, of taking all the *Church Lands* into the *Crown*; and very Courteouſly he offers the *Poor Cavaliers* a *Snip* in the *Booty*. Does he conſider, that after *This Violence*, an *Engliſhman* hath nothing left him that is *ſure* and *ſacred*? And that as much as in him lies, he deſtroys us in our *Liberties*, *Conſciences*, and *Eſtates*, all at a Blow. The *Patrimony* of the *Church* is *Firſt*, a *Gift* to *God*, and *appropriated* to his *Service*; and therefore not to be *touched*: (*They have Robbed me*, ſaith *God*, in the Prophet *Malachy*.) Or if it *may*, no man is ſure of the Eſtate he poſſeſſes, by the ſame Reaſon: For there is no better Title in Nature, then *a Deed of Gift*. *Secondly*, it is ſetled and Confirmed by *Magna Charta*; which ſays, *that the Church of* England *ſhall be free*; *and ſhall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable*, (*for ever*.) *Thirdly*, the King binds himſelf by his *Coronation Oath*, *to preſerve unto the Biſhops*, *and to the Churches committed to their charge*, all *Canonical Privileges*, *and due Law and Juſtice*; *and to protect and defend them*, *as every good King ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Biſhops and Churches under his Government*. So that here is *Sacrilege*, *Common Right*, and *Perjury* in the Caſe.

His *Fourth Quary* is, [*Whether in thoſe Kingdoms and States where Prelacy is extirpated*, *and a Presbytery onely retained*, *there be not as Godly*, *Able*, *Orthodox Preachers*, *&c. and as good Subjects*, *as where Biſhops are retained*.—His *Laſt Quary* is onely a Political Proſpect upon the Power of *France*,

France, and nothing to the point in Queſtion.] To which I anſwer *Firſt*, That I know no ſuch *Kingdoms* as he ſpeaks of. *Secondly*, What if under a *Presbyterial Government*, any *Subject* of *That State* ſhould move *viſe versâ*, for an *Epiſcopal There*, as he does *Here* for a *Presbyterial*? How would it be taken? If there may be as *good Preachers* and *Subjects* on the *One* ſide, as on the *Other*; why ſhould we change the Government, to be onely where we were? *Fourthly*, If *Two Archbiſhops*, and 24 *Biſhops Dioceſan* be ſo great an *Oppreſſion*; what would become of us in a *Presbytery*, when we ſhould have 9285 *Popes*, in ſtead of them? (*One* in *Every Pariſh.*) *Fifthly*, The *Presbyterial Principles* are purely *Jeſuitical*; and that would be but the ſetling of *Popery* under *another Name*. *Sixthly*, we have it upon Experiment, that the *People* will never indure *Them*, nor *They* the *Government*.

To come now to That Libel, which bears the Title of my *Lord Lucas's Speech*: The *Name* of that Noble Lord is onely made uſe of for a Cover to thoſe Scandals upon the King, which, to have ſaved the laſt drop of bloud in his Veins, he would not have been guilty of. It is true, that Offence was taken to the Liberty of the Speech it ſelf, and a Cenſure paſſed upon it; but it is not preſently for every Mutinous Incendiary to Arraign a Proceeding of Parliament, and to call it *Barbarous Uſage*, with other rude, and very unmannerly Expreſſions, in the Preface to the Reader. He ſays that *God hath taken him from an* **Ungrateful Generation.** And he ſays right in that; for undoubtedly there never was the fellow of it upon the face of the Earth. The *Kings Friends* (who are the onely People *Oppreſſed*) they ſit ſtill, in *Hope* and *Patience*; while his *Enemies* that enjoy both the *Advantage* of the others *Loſſes*, and the *Reward* of their *Services*; *Thoſe* are the people that *Complain*. *This Faction*, to whom the King hath forgiven his *Fathers*

Bloud

Blood and *his Own*. (*His Own*, (I ſay) for they that *ſhot* at him and *miſt*, are as *Guilty*, as if they had ſtruck him to the *heart*; and they that *adviſed* it, as thoſe that did the *Execution*.) Theſe are the people, that in requital for their *forfeited Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes*, which his Majeſty frankly *gave* them, are now laying the ſame Train for *This King*, by which They ruined the *Laſt*. The Bold Indignities of this *Pamphlet* are ſuch, as a Loyal Subject cannot Honeſtly ſo much as recite: It is neither better nor worſe then a *Formal Charge* upon the King in *Five and Twenty Articles*, diſperſed with all the Malice, and Induſtry imaginable. The Scope of it is to poſſeſs the people with an Opinion, that the King deſigns the bringing in of *Popery*, and an *Arbitrary Power*; with an Application of ſeveral particulars, to thoſe Ends. Now if theſe *Affronts* paſs, without either *Puniſhment*, or *Reply*, who can blame the ſimple multitude, that know nothing more then what they read in a Pamphlet, for giving credit to them? And when they are once tainted with that deadly *Jealouſie*, who can blame them again, for doing *Ill Things*, that know no *better*? The Time is almoſt come, when honeſt men ſhall be put to death, and the very *Murtherers think that they do God good Service*. This was the miſtaken Zeal of the late Times; and we are even ready for it once again. The *Two Calumnies* whereupon theſe people lay the greateſt *ſtreſs*, are *Firſt*, a *Pretended Apprehenſion* of an *Arbitrary Power*; and *Secondly*, of an *Inclination* to favour *Popery*.

The Imputation of any Diſpoſition, or Deſign in his Majeſty that now is, in favour of either *Tyranny* or *Popery*, is ſo groundleſs and incredible, to any man that hath but his Eyes in his head, that it would not be worth a Page of Paper, to ſhew the Error of it, were it not that we are delivered up to the *Deluſion* of *believing things impoſſible*, and *diſcerning things Inviſible*; and yet as *Blind* as *Moles*, to matters of clear and evident *Demonſtration*.

With

With what Face can any man pretend an *Apprehenſion* of *Tyranny* from *This Prince*, whoſe very *Mercy* and *Bounty*, by the Extreme abuſe of it, hath created his *Misfortune*. Nay, the moſt ſpiteful of his Enemies cannot but acknowledge that there doth not live any man that hath leſs of Gall and Rancour, in his Nature: Beſide the *Experiment* his greateſt *Adverſaries* have had of his *Goodneſs* in Common with the reſt of his Subjects, upon the *Criſis* of his *Reſtauration*. For when he might have made himſelf as *abſolute* as he would; when he had his *Foes* under his *Feet*; and ſome reaſons of *State*, perhaps, to lay a *firmer Foundation* of his *Future Security*; his *Tenderneſs of Nature* did yet ſo far prevail upon him, above all other Conſiderations, that he quitted all thoſe *Advantages*; he *Gave*, and *Forgave* all that was poſſible; to ſhew how much he prized a *Dominion* over the *Hearts* of his People, above That of their *Bodies* and *Eſtates*.

Touching his *affection* to the *Religion* of the Church of *England*; ſince it hath pleaſed God in his Infinite Wiſdom to permit, that his Majeſty ſhould be Calumniated upon That point; it is a ſingular Providence, that this ſhould happen in a *Juncture*, when the plain matter of *Fact*, and the *Naked Hiſtory* of his *Royal Proceedings*, may ſuffice to the moſt prejudicate, and the moſt obſtinate of his Enemies, as an Unanſwerable *Confutation*. It is every day more and more artificially *Inſinuated* and *Improved*; eſpecially ſince the Diſcovery of the *late horrid Deſign*, and particularly in the *Libel laſt mentioned*, as if his Majeſty were not ſo *careful* and zealous for the *Suppreſſing* and *Preventing of Popery*, and for the *Puniſhing of Delinquents*, as is needful for the ſecurity of his Government. Nay, there are ſome ſo daring, as to take upon them in *Hint*, and *Myſtery*, to intimate the very *Countenancing* of the *Plot it ſelf*. If the Proceeding be not altogether ſo *quick* and *ſanguinary* as ſome would have it, we ſhall onely ſay This; that

that Thoſe of all men, have the leaſt Colour to complain of his Majeſties *want of Rigour*, that ſtand indebted already for their *Heads*, and for their *Fortunes*, unto his *Grace* and *Mercy*.

As to his Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, his Majeſty hath given the World ſo many and ſo ample Evidences of his diſlike of That Communion; that every mans *Conſcience* as well as *Reaſon*, cannot but diſcharge him upon That point. It cannot be imagined, that in his *late Troubles* and *Exile*, he wanted either *Arguments*, or *Solicitations*, either in point of *State* or of *Religion*; and the moſt plauſible too, that could be found out, to work upon either his *Conſcience*, or his *Neceſſities*: And yet no *Temptations*, either on the *One hand*, or on the *Other*, had any farther Operation upon his Majeſties *Judgment*, then by cauſing a ſtricter Enquiry into the Subject in debate, to confirm him ſtill more and more in the *Truth* of his *Profeſſion*. In ſo much, that in the Loweſt and moſt hopeleſs State of his *Diſtreſſes*, he choſe rather to abide all *Extremities*, then to depart, in any Tittle, from the Faith of the *Reformed Communion*.

Now his Majeſty having given this *Earneſt* of his *ſtedfaſtneſs* to the *Religion* of the *Church of England* during his *Baniſhment*; and ſhewing that neither *Fear* nor *Deſpair* could ſhake him in his *Reſolutions*; it were a ſtrange thing for him now to *relinquiſh That Cauſe* in *Oppoſition* to his *Intereſt*; which when it might have turned to his *Temporal Advantage*, no *Perſecution* or *Flattery* could ever prevail upon him to do. I might add to all This, that he hath ſteered the ſame Courſe in all his Devotions both *Publique* and *Private*, and that the Maintainance of This Church hath been Undeniably the Scope of all his *Deliberations*, and *Councils*, in all *Religious* Concernments, *ſince his Bleſſed Return*.

But it is not enough, in all Caſes, for a Prince to be *Tender* and *Innocent*, in the matter of *Religion*; Witneſs the late

Pious

Pious and yet *Unfortunate Prince*. For whereſoever this Incantation takes place, the *Sinews* of *Government* are *Looſened*, the *Sacredneſs* of *Order Diſſolved*, and *all Obligations cancelled*, as well *Moral* as *Divine*. And not onely ſo; but the very *Shadow* and *Imagination* of it, frights people into *Lakes* and *Precipices*, and tranſports them with *Panique Terrors*, into the *Execution* of the very *Miſchiefs* they *fear*. So that his Majeſty hath *two main Difficulties* to encounter at once: The *One* to Maſter the *Plot it ſelf*; the *Other* to *Temper* and *Sweeten* the *Paſſions* of men, *zealous* in the *contrary Extreme*: that no Inconvenience may ariſe from Their *Miſapprehenſion* of Things *another way*.

According to theſe Meaſures, his Majeſty hath governed his Courſe throughout the whole Tract of This Affair; leaving no means unattempted, that might probably give light to the Bottom of *This Tragical Deſign*: He hath given all ſorts of *Encouragement* to *Informations*, by *Countenance*, *Protection*, and *Reward*: The *Depoſitions* have been formally taken before his *Majeſty*, and his *Privy Council*; and the *Evidences ſtrictly weighed* and *examined*; and from thence afterward heartily *recommended*, and faithfully *Tranſmitted* to the *Two Houſes of Parliament*; as the moſt *Rational Method*, for the *Common Satisfaction* both of *King* and *People*.

Neither hath his Majeſty been wanting on his *Own part* in a *Vigorous Concurrence* with the *Two Houſes*, to do all that in him lay, toward the *Suppreſſing of Popery*, the *ſeizing* and *ſecuring of Popiſh Recuſants*; and providing more effectually, by the beſt means that could be deviſed, for the *Maintainance* and *Eſtabliſhment of our Religion*: Having iſſued out divers *Proclamations*, and done ſeveral other *Publique Acts*, upon the Motion and Advice of his *Two Houſes of Parliament*, to the Ends aforeſaid; even to the taking away from the *Popiſh Lords* their *Ancient Right* of *Seſſion* in the *Houſe of Peers*; and diſabling all *Papiſts*

whatſoever, to all purpoſes whatſoever, from any Advantages in the Government.

And if it be not yet enough, that in this Dangerous Juncture, his Majeſty hath walked *hand in hand*, and kept pace with his *Two Houſes of Parliament*; it may be juſtly affirmed, that he hath in ſome degree even *ſupererogated* in This matter; and added an *Exceſs* of *Affection* to the *Conſcientious Diſcharge* of his *Princely Care* and *Function*. Of This, we might give ſeveral Inſtances; but one ſhall ſerve for all, in his *Majeſties Speech to both Houſes of Parliament*, on *Saturday Nov.*8. 1678. where he quickens the *Two Houſes* themſelves, in theſe words; *I do deſire you* (ſaith his Majeſty) *to think on ſome ready means for Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, and to expedite your Counſels, that the World may ſee our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity to let you ſee how ready I am to do any thing that may give ſatisfaction.*

After This demonſtrative Clearneſs on his *Majeſties ſide*, let us caſt an Impartial Eye the *Other way*, and ſo *conclude*. Was not *This* the very *Charge* upon the *late King*? and was there ever any Prince that lived more *faultleſs*? Was not the Care of the *Proteſtant Religion*, *pretended*; and was not all *Religion*, in a manner, *ſubverted*? Was not the *Kings Honour*, and *Safety*, the *Pretext* of a *Solemn Covenant*? and was he not delivered up by the *Same Covenant*, to his very *Executioners*? What a *Clamour* there was about *Magna Charta*, the *Engliſh Liberties*; and a *Reformation*, onely of ſome *Excreſcences* (as they called them) in the *Church* and *State*? And did not this ſpecious Flouriſh conclude in a *Total Extinction* of *Law*, *Freedom*, and *Government*? Were not the ſame *Arguments* uſed *Then* as *Now*? Are not the *ſame Artifices* of *Libelling Authority* practiſed *Now*, which were *Then*? And are not the *People poiſoned* the *ſame way This Year*, that they were the *Laſt*? In ſhort; Is not

High-

High-gate the way to *St. Albans* ſtill? So certainly are we now running the *ſame Stage* over again. Was there not a Time when St. *Pauls* was turned into a *Garriſon?* When *Apprentices cancelled their own Indentures*, and had them renewed again by an *Ordinance?* When for fear of *Red-coats* in the *Clouds*, the Credulous Multitude brought them, like *Ægyptian Plagues*, into their very *Pots* and *Diſhes*. *Oh! but do you think* (they cry) *that Theſe Godly People will ever touch the King?* How many well meaning People thought the *ſame thing before*, and yet contributed to the deſtroying of their *Soveraign*; not knowing what they did. **Be not deluded.**

Immediately after the ſending of what is above-written, to the Preſs, comes out a *Pamphlet*, entitled *Englands Saſety, Or the Two Unanimous Votes of the laſt Good Parliament, concerning the D. of* York *being a Papiſt, &c.*

I have ſo great a Reverence, as well for the *Honour* of the *Conſtitution of Parliaments*, as for the *Perſonal Loyalty* of the *Members* of our *late Great Repreſentative*, that I cannot but take notice of the *Abuſe*, which is *Firſt*, put upon That *Illuſtrious Convention it ſelf*; and *afterward*, upon the *People*, in *This Libel*. It makes the *Houſe of Commons* to be the *Parliament*: But neither did thoſe worthy Gentlemen claim to themſelves *a Full Parliamentary Power*, to the *Excluſion* of any other *Legal* and *Eſſential Concurrence*: Nor will they take it well to be ſo much *Miſ-repreſented*. And then, it is as great an *Abuſe*, on the *Other* hand, to the whole *Nation*: For if This Opinion be ſwallowed once, the People will be apt to take *Ordinances* again, for *Laws*. So that the Title is in a great *Miſtake* upon *That Point*: And now that the *Reader* may not incur almoſt as *Great* a one, on the *other* hand, in *another*; Lei it be obſerved that the *Woman* in whoſe Name this Pamphlet is publiſhed, is ſo far from being a *Well-Willer* to the *Kings Perſon*, or *Government*, that

from

from the time of his Majesties Restauration, it hath been her Constant Business to promote all *Spiteful* and *Scandalous Books*, and *Papers*, against both *Church* and *State*.

To these *Pretended Votes*, I can say nothing, whether *True*, or *False*; but This I am sure of, that *Debates* of That *Solemnity*, and *Importance*, ought not to be made *Publique*; that nothing can be more *Derogatory* to the *Dignity* of that *Great Body*; then (as the Fashion hath been of late) for every *Pedant*, and *Mechanique*, to set up the Trade of *Teaching Parliament-men* their *Lessons*.

The Subject of his Royal Highnesses's *Succession* to the *Crown*, is made the *Common Theme* of the *Press*: And I do not presume to *Reason* the matter, either *Pro* or *Con*, as it is a Case out of my Province: But still I am at Liberty to assert the Duty of a *Free-born*, and of a *Faithful Subject*; and to *affirm*, that I have not found any one *Argument* in any of these Libels, which in a *Natural Consequence* does not likewise reach the *King*: whom *God preserve*, and in *Mercy* keep all *his Subjects* in *Due Obedience*.

THE END.

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